Amulets and Talismans of the Middle East and North Africa in Context

Transmission, Efficacy and Collections

Edited by

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CHAPTER 2

A Twentieth-Century Manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Mandal al-sulaymānī* (IES Ar. 286, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia): Texts on Practices & Texts in Practices

Anne Regourd

1 Subject*

Al-Mandal al-sulaymānī is known from several manuscripts which will be presented here. Passing over the textual variations, we can say that it is a book on exorcism of the twelve tribes of jinn who agreed with Solomon that they would submit themselves to invocations formulated in accordance with Solomonic magic.

The jinns are the causes of the various diseases and possessions of people or places that can be cured using Solomonic magic, which addresses itself to the Chief of each tribe. The exorcists' knowledge of the appearance of the jinn of each tribe and their habits (food, type of settlement, etc.) is therefore crucial. Some passages in these texts introduce a jinn called al-Aḥmar (the Red) as the Chief of all the chiefs.

Names (*asmā'*) are prominent in the magic 'methods' displayed in the course of the different texts; they are used in: magic formulae—written and oral—to protect possessed persons and exorcists (*ḥirz*), and to prevent places and people from being possessed, to chase the jinn away or to summon them to a place (*ṣarʿ*, *mandal*), in incantations, and on rings. Above all, the exorcism based on the use of "*al-mandal*," which appears in the title of the book, involves incantations (*'azā'im*) and geometric figures, such as circles, squares and rectangles.[1]

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* I am grateful to Sam Yahya Husayn al-Ahmar, at one time in charge of the manuscripts and libraries of Yemen at the Ministry of Culture, to the staff of Dār al-makhtūṭāṭ in Ṣanʿā', and to Ahmed Omer Hassan, Head of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES) at the University of Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) and its Chief Librarian Woinishet Behailu, for assisting and supporting my research in their libraries.

1 See a first account in: Anne Regourd, "Le *Kitāb al-Mandal al-sulaymānī*, un ouvrage d'exorcisme yéménite postérieur au Vᵉ/XIᵉ s. ?," *Démons et merveilles d'Orient*, special issue of *Res Orientales* 13 (2001); id., "Images de djinns et exorcisme dans le *Mandal al-sulaymānī*," in Picatrix *entre Orient et Occident*, ed. Jean-Patrice Boudet, Anna Caiozzo, and Nicolas Weill-Parot (Paris: Champion, 2011), followed by the text edition of two sections:

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In therapeutic practices where success depends on a confrontation with the possessing jinn through speech so that it submits and is convinced to give up its hold on a human, the collection of knowledge that the practitioner has of the world of the jinn is not enough. The texts presented here include the devices he must put in place to protect himself. His piety and his asceticism, constitute another shield. It illustrates the importance of having strong, 'incorruptible' spiritual powers when facing jinn.

The outcome of these confrontations, or should we say clashes, is therefore not guaranteed; it results from a power struggle, at the heart of the therapy, between the practitioner and the possessing jinn, who may refuse the practioner its allegiance. The inner strength of the practitioner (*quwwa*) is decisive. Beyond written or oral transmission, and even beyond the experience accumulated in contacts with the jinn and religious practice, inner strength is first and foremost granted by God to a chosen individual (*baraka*), according to a pattern known in the Arab world. In Yemen, where the social group of the descendants of the Prophet, *sāda*, have the *baraka* by birth, the elective character of the *baraka* is not absent since its intensity can vary from one individual to another.[2] Moreover, one of the most interesting points to emerge from the observation of practice in contemporary Yemen is the variation introduced by each practitioner from what he receives, observes, hears and, when he can, takes from his reading.

As well as the leaders of the jinn, other individuals apprehended in a group or tribe, whose names the *al-Mandal* gives, are singled out. The demon Zawbaʿa appears, for example, in the *Mandal* of Ethiopia (ff.20^{r}–21^{r}). In these texts, as well as in the practice observed in Yemen, Ethiopia and elsewhere, the first mission of the practitioner in his confrontation with the jinni is to have or obtain the name of the possessing jinni. However, in the Hadhramawt, "the decision to exorcise does not depend on whether the jinni names itself or not. Jinn who name themselves and thus appear 'socialised' (…), may nevertheless remain dangerous and require recourse to exorcism."[3] This is the case of a *jinniyya*

1 One is the story of the usurpation of King Solomon's throne, taken away from him by a demon, and the assistance in recovering it which Solomon's faithful Vizier gave him.

2 It is followed by a description of the 12 tribes of jinn who affect the Human world. And id., "*Al-Mandal al-sulaymānī* appliqué : une section interpolée dans le ms. Ṣanʿā' 2774 ?" in *Studies In Memory of Alexander Fodor*, ed. Kinga Dévényi (*The Arabist. Budapest Studies in Arabic* 37 (2016)).

2 Sylvaine Camelin, "Croyance aux djinns et possession dans le Hadramaout," in *Divination, magie, pouvoirs au Yémen*, ed. Anne Regourd (*Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, 13 (1995)), 165.

3 Our translation of Camelin, "Croyance aux djinns et possession dans le Hadramaout," 174–175 and n. 56.

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named Umm Ṣibyān, very popular in Yemen, where she is identified as one of the armies of Solomon: she was diagnosed by an Ethiopian exorcist in two thousands Ṣan'ā' as the cause of the disorder of many of the possessed.[4]

In Yemen, as well as in Ethiopia, there is another great therapeutic tradition that heals the suffering caused by another group of spiritual entities possessing humans (*ins*), the spiritual *zār*-entities.[5] The cradle of rituals invoking *zār*-entities is not precisely known, but it is generally agreed that they originate in Africa. These rituals are characterised in Yemen, as well as in the whole of the Arabian Peninsula and Western India, by a coastal implantation, as well as by actors of the *zār* rituals originating in Africa or being related to it. These first observations on the diffusion of these rituals, as well as the strong presence of *zār* rituals in Egypt, very much alive in Cairo, in Sudan, and in Kenya through the Oromos and Somals presence,[6] have led to the location of their origin in the Horn of Africa, from which they would have spread, but without managing to date the phenomenon precisely.[7] However, historians working on the permanent exhibition at the Slavery Museum in Doha,[8] as well as more recent

4 Regourd, "Représentations d'Umm Sibyân dans les contes yéménites : de la dévoreuse d'enfant à la djinniyya possédant les humains," in *Femmes médiatrices, mythes et imaginaires*, ed. Anna Caiozzo and Nathalie Ernoult (Paris: Colin, 2012), 71. Bombay one-sheet prints with protective value (*ḥirz*) were sold in the souk of Ṣan'ā' in the 2000s bearing a text on Solomon and his troops, among them Umm Ṣibyān. For block-printed amulets, cf. Karl Schaefer, "The Material Nature of Block Printed Amulets: What Makes Them Amulets?" in this volume.

5 We are limiting our observations to therapeutic *zār* rituals.

6 Elisa Pelizzari, *Possession et thérapie dans la Corne de l'Afrique* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997). In the Ethiopian Oromoland, Pelizzari concentrated on Arsi and Bale.

7 This hypothesis was once supported by linguists' assumptions that the word *zār* (*saar*) comes from the archaic coushitic *djar*, and by the existence of other terms for divinities, especially sky gods. See Steven Kaplan, "Zar," in: *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Uhlig Siegbert, vol. 4, 186 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2010). Interestingly, the word *zār* appears in the Ethiopic glosses of the "Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary," preserved in a 14th century manuscript from the private library of the Rasūlid al-Malik al-Afḍal al-'Abbās b. 'Alī (r. 764–776/1363–1377), as a gloss of the word *al-jinn*. See Maria Bulakh, "Al-Malik al-Afḍal's 14th-century 'Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary' as an Attempt at Language Documentation," in *From Mountain to Mountain: Exchange between Yemen and Ethiopia, Medieval to Modern*, ed. Nancy Um and Regourd (*Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen*, Special Issue 1, 2017–2018), 23. The author comments further on the term which, "preserved in Christian Ethiopia into modern times, could well be used by a Christian or Muslim informant of the Glossary." And, "This evidence can be interpreted in different ways, but one cannot fail to see that it fits into the hypothesis of the compilation of the Glossary in Yemen, by the means of questioning Ethiopian slaves, and without deep inquiry into the grammar of the languages in question." Ibid., 27.

8 The International Slavery Museum or Msheireb Museum at Doha (opened in September 2015) is located in the Bin Jelmood House, which belonged to a rich slave trader who traded with Africa in the 19th c. https://msheirebmuseums.com/en/about/bin-jelmood-house/. Particu-

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ethnomusicological studies on *zār* rituals in Iran, crossed with the work of historians on the Arab slave trade, suggest another line of diffusion, originating with the African slave trade, shipped from Zanzibar and Kilwa to the Persian Gulf via Socotra as early as the Middle Ages.[9] Recent migrations, of Ethiopian refugees for instance, have opened up additional paths of circulation, which are already the subject of research.[10] Basically, the therapeutic *zār* follows a ritual that ends in a trance and the practitioner, possessed himself, seeks a way out of the possession through adorcism, i.e. an alliance contracted between the possessed person and the possessing spirit.[11] To ensure the descent of the *zār*-entity possessing a human, knowledge of the habits and preferences of the entities, organised in a sung pantheon, is again decisive: they are attracted by offering them what they like, food, music and songs, and the sacrifice of an animal is performed. The whole ritual, structured by music, songs and dances, involves a group of musicians and is carried out under the supervision, of, generally, a woman (*shaykha*).

What can be transmitted is transmitted orally. Therapeutic and non-therapeutic *zār* rituals, covering a large geographical area, have not yet been sufficiently studied. While there are a few studies on therapeutic *zār* rituals for

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larly relevantly for us, the Museum sheds light on the historic importation of slaves from Zanzibar to dive for pearls on behalf of their Qatari owners.

9 See Maryam Gharasou, "Du malheur à l'initiation. Les cultes de possession du Zar et leurs musiques (Hormozgan, Iran)," Thèse de doctorat en ethnomusicologie (Paris, Université Paris-Ouest Nanterre, 2014). For the province of Hormozgân alone, she defines three main forms of possession cults: the *nūbān*, whose music is clearly of African origin; the *zār* (in a specific sense), which is a kind of Afro-Arab-Iranian syncretism, but with a strongly African pantheon; the *mashāyekh* a kind of syncretism between the *zār* and popular Sunni and Shafiite Sufism. See also the outcome of the current fieldwork of Neil van der Linden (Amsterdam), who noticed that Swahili phrases are used in the Iranian *zār*, which suggests that the roots of the *zār* rituals are in what is now East-Congo, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. This is consistent with the fact that the Northern part of the Indian Ocean was dominated for three centuries by the Sultanate of Oman which had its territories in Zanzibar, the Oman coast, the South-East of Iran and the South-West of Pakistan (communication, May 12, 2021). Among others, see his clip of a concert in Tehran by a *Zār* group from the Iranian island of Qishn, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KLvKEjvDyvM&t=1022s&ab_channel=NeilvanderLinden.

10 For Nairobi, Mombasa, Roma, Turino, see: Elisa Pelizzari, *Possession et thérapie dans la Corne de l'Afrique*, 7; for Israel, Monica D. Edelstein, "Lost Tribes and Coffee Ceremonies: *zar* Spirit Possession and the Ethnoreligious Identity of the Ethiopian Jews in Israel," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 15, no. 2 (2002).

11 Luc de Heusch, "Cultes de possession et religions initiatiques de salut en Afrique," *Annales du centre d'études des religions, Religions de salut* 2 (1963). Pelizzari does not strictly link *zār* rituals and adorcism but considers that they can also aim at exorcism. Pelizzari, *Possession et thérapie dans la Corne de l'Afrique*.

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Ethiopia, some of which have remain celebrated, those of Yemen have not been the subject of any published field study.

In the 1990s, Salafist practitioners flourished in Ṣanʿā', they treated possession, the evil eye and witchcraft for a token payment or a fixed fee, by reciting canonical texts accompanied by gestures. For exorcisms, the patient's ear is whispered in and the soles of the feet are beaten. The patient then falls into a cataleptic state and becomes rigid. One of the practitioners in the city worked in conjunction with a hospital psychologist and sent him people whose psyche (*nafs*) he considered to be the cause of the disorder, but who were not affected by the external causes known from the canonical texts, which are the evil eye, witchcraft and possession. This modern therapy stresses the power of God and His Prophet and the lawfulness of the means, rather than the qualities of the practitioner, and emphasises that in the world of the jinn, who are known to be endowed with free will, character, habits, desires, power, diverse religious denominations, languages and countries, there are Muslims, those who are willing to convert or cooperate. According to field researches conducted in the two thousands in Western Oromoland, "(…) the phenomenon of possession by Muslim spirits, namely *rūhāniya*s, emerged in western Oromoland only after the advent of *Al-Faki* Ahmad Umar," i.e. the sufi al-Faqīh Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Tijānī (d. 1953), from Bornu. Propagator of the Tijāniyya in Western Ethiopia, he appears in a period of islamization among Oromos, and being very knowledgeable in spiritual sciences, was said to cure diseases caused by jinn. According to informants, "the spirits, being pious Muslim *shaykh*s, were contributing to the Islamization of the Oromo society, etc."[12]

Some of the texts of *al-Mandal al-sulaymānī* contain a section in which incantations are introduced that call upon jinn to help cure diseases through exorcism using a *mandal*. It is this passage in some of our texts that offers information on two trajectories of textual transmission from Yemen to Ethiopia on the one hand and to the Latin world on the other.[13] Reconstructing this

12 See Minako Ishihara, "Spirit Possession and Pilgrimage. The Formation and Configuration of the Tijjānī Cult in Western Oromoland," in *Research in Ethiopian Studies: Selected Papers of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Trondheim, July 2007*, ed. Harald Aspen, Birhanu Teferra, Shiferaw Bekele, Svein Ege (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 2010), 250, and 254sq. We are aiming in our introduction to contextualize the text which is the main subject of this chapter and not to provide an overview of magic in Ethiopia and Yemen. So we pass over, for example, indigenous monotheisms ("monothéisme de terroir") of Ethiopia which acknowledge spirit possession. See Ishihara, ibid., 250, on the high god *Waaqa* and the supernatural beings *ayaana*; not exclusive to Ethiopia, see André Julliard, "Pour penser le monothéisme. La religion de terroir des Diola-Adiamat en Guinée-Bissau," *Revue d'Auvergne*, vol. 3, 539/2 (1997): 76–84.

13 An Indian origin for the word *mandal* leaves open a line of transmission, which could have

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textual transmission route on the basis of textual and material comparison of the manuscripts forms the main discussion of this chapter.

2 Interest of the Manuscripts and Their Texts

During field work in Yemen in the 1990s, people from many parts of the country, some of them practitioners, many of them not, drew my attention to the interest of *al-Mandal al-sulaymānī*. It is a renowned book and is considered to be dangerous to open and to read, in the same way as the much better known text *Shams al-maʿārif* supposedly written by al-Būnī.[14]

Manuscripts (A) and (B) belong to the ms. 2774, ulūm khafiyya 22, conserved at Dar al-makhtutat (DaM), the famous public Library of Ṣanʿā' (from now called Ṣanʿā'/DaM (A), (B)); (C) is a separate manuscript, a modern photocopy of which can be found in the private library of a practitioner.

Historians of sciences working on the Latin World have, too, found it interesting. A Latin manuscript, betraying the existence of an earlier Arabic version, the *Liber Almandal* (or *Liber in figura almandal*) describes the production and use of a table to evoke jinn and demons. The manuscript is from the fifteenth century Italy, but the text is believed to have been in circulation in the course of the twelfth-thirteenth century. In the edition of the manuscript he prepared, Julien Véronèse is the first to have compared the Latin text and the Arabic text of *al-Mandal al-sulaymānī* discovered in Yemen, and did it on the basis of the first section of the Arabic text, the only one published before 2016.[15] However, the evidence of a Latin adaptation of an Arabic text underlying the text of *Liber Almandal* renders a date prior to 1230 plausible.[16]

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been oral, from India to the Arabian Peninsula and Yemen, see Anne Regourd, "Le *Kitāb al-Mandal al-sulaymānī*, un ouvrage d'exorcisme yéménite postérieur au Ve/XIe s. ?," *Démons et merveilles d'Orient*, special issue of *Res Orientales* 13, no. 1 (2001): 123–124.

14 Very famous book of talismanic magic by Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Būnī (7th/13th C.), see, among other printed editions, *Shams al-maʿārif al-kubrā* (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-thaqāfiyya, s. d.). For more on al-Būnī, cf. Jean-Charles Coulon, "Amulets and Talismans in the Earliest Works of the Corpus Bunianum," in this volume.

15 I.e. our text edition "*Al-Mandal al-sulaymānī* appliqué : une section interpolée dans le ms. Ṣanʿā' 2774 ?" See: Julien Véronèse, ed., *L'* Almandal *et l'* Almadel *latins au Moyen Âge : Introduction et éditions critiques* (Firenze: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2012), 15–30, 67–92. Both versions are in ms. Firenze, BNC, II.iii.214, ff.74v–78v.

16 Through a Solomonian treatise composed in Toledo, and preserved in a manuscript form in Firenze, but only in part. For an attempt to date and localise the production of this manuscript, see David Pingree, "Learned magic in the time of Frederick II," *Microlo-gus: natura, scienze e società medievali* 2 (1994). Most later versions, often dubbed *Almandel* or

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Recently, another version of the *Mandal* has been identified in three manuscripts of known or postulated Italian origin, dated to the 13th–14th centuries. It had gone unnoticed because of the title of the collection which contains them, a collection of lapidaries, *De consecratione lapidum*.[17] The table (*areola*) is an altar intended to consecrate, with the help of fumigations, stones whose virtue is associated with the angels, the recipients of the ritual. It allows us to advance to the second half or the end of the 13th century a profound Christianisation of this tradition in Latin texts.[18] As for the *Almadel* or *Liber intelligentiarum*, it presents a version probably reworked in Italy in the fourteenth century in the light of traditions of angelic magic. It is conserved in four manuscripts of the fifteenth century. In this context, the *almadel* is the divine sign revealed to Solomon that allows him to enter into contact with the princes of the angels of the 12 celestial places, themselves linked to a sign of the zodiac and thus to a month of the year determined by the course of the Sun.[19]

An Arabic manuscript of the fourteenth century, the *Misceláneo de Salomon* discovered during building in Toledo, in 1962,[20] also offers material for compar-

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Almadel, display 'Hebraicized' or 'Christianized' contents, see Jan R. Veenstra, "The Holy Almandal. Angels and the Intellectual Aims of Magic," in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Bernd-Christian Otto, "A discourse historical approach towards medieval 'learned magic'," in *The Routledge History of Medieval Magic*, ed. Sophie Page and Catherine Rider (London: Routledge, 2019), chapter III and footnote 69.

17 Vajra Regan, "The *De consecratione lapidum*: A Previously Unknown Thirteenth-Century Version of the *Liber Almandal Salomonis*, Newly Introduced with a Critical Edition and Translation," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 28 (2018). These manuscripts are: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 243, ff.40^{v}–44^{r}, thirteenth-fourteenth century; London, Wellcome Institute, 116, pp. 22a–23b, fourteenth century; Vatican, BAV, Reg. lat. 1106, ff.39^{v}–42^{v}, thirteenth century.

18 Julien Véronèse, "La réécriture des rituels d'invocation des esprits dans les traditions latines attribuées à Salomon (XII^{e}–XV^{e} siècle)." In *La magie entre Antiquité et Moyen Âge : traditions, innovations, autorités*, dir. Thomas Galoppin (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 239/4 (2021)), last section "Les principales mutations d'une tradition d'origine arabe : de l'*Almandal* à l'*Almadel*." I am grateful to Julien Véronèse for having shared this unpublished paper.

19 Véronèse, *L'*Almandal *et l'*Almadel *latins au Moyen Âge*, 40–54, 119–162.

20 Text in Arabic and Spanish transl. from the *Misceláneo de Salomon* in: Joaquina Albarracín Navarro and Juan Martínez Ruiz, *Medicina, farmacopea y magia en el "Misceláneo de Salomón": Texto árabe, traducción, glosas aljamiadas, estudio y glosario* (Grenada: University of Grenada, 1987); English transl. in: Nineveh Shadrach, Transl., *Book of Deadly Names as revealed to King Solomon by Jinn King Fiqitush* (Burnaby: Ishtar Publishing, 2007). The Toledan manuscript describes 72 jinn, with their names, explains why they are causes of human sicknesses and specifies rituals which can be employed to drive them out permanently.

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ison with the *Mandal* found in Yemen, as they are both related to the developments of Solomonic magic as they are represented in the *Testamentum Salomonis*.[21]

In 2016, I published the text of the section of the *Mandal* which describes the process of an exorcism using a *mandal*, with various steps and cases, which call for this or that particular action. This part is clearly intended for practitioners as it gives instructions. We will call it now "the section on exorcism using a *mandal*." It almost immediately follows the description of the 12 tribes of jinn, and is the one in which the Latinists have shown the most interest until now. The publication of these folios from the manuscript of Ṣanʿā' has substantiated the correspondence with the ff.74^{v} sq. of the Latin manuscript edited by Véronèse.[22]

The Latin texts, then, could indicate a first movement of the Yemeni *Mandal* text from the Arab to the Latin world. However, another manuscript related to our text, available in Ethiopia, provides new evidence for the circulation of *Kitāb al-Mandal al-sulaymānī* by a different route. This Ethiopian manuscript and its consequences for the textual transmission of the *Mandal* are discussed below.

3 Manuscripts from Yemen

Ms. 2774, which contains manuscripts Ṣanʿā'/DaM (A) and (B) was estimated to have been produced in the last quarter of the eighteenth century or the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and bears in the margin of its f.21^{r}, a mark indicating its collation with another manuscript.[23]

Texts of ms. Ṣanʿā'/DaM (A) and (B) are as follows:

(A) (ff.1^{v}–21^{r}), with a "title page" *Kitāb al-Mandal al-sulaymānī li-l-jamʿ wa-l-farq wa-l-ḥurūz*;

(B) (ff.21^{r}–55^{v}), which immediately follows (A), and therefore, does not bear any title.

21 Ibid. Otto, "Historicising 'Western Learned Magic': *Preliminary Remarks*," *Aries—Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism* 16 (2016), for a protoversion of texts which introduced Solomonic art to Europe and had the more complex Solomonic compassion, such as *Lemegeton Clavicula Solomonis*. The potential link between *al-Mandal al-sulaymānī* and Latin texts, which could somehow echo it, is detailed in: Regourd, "*Al-Mandal al-sulaymānī* appliqué : une section interpolée dans le ms. Ṣanʿā' 2774 ?," 136–137, on the basis of the research published by our Latinist colleagues up to 2016.

22 On the importance and understanding of Arab texts bearing on the casting out of spirits under Solomon's control in the formation of the framework of magical thought in the Latin West, see Otto, "A discourse historical approach towards medieval 'learned magic'," Chapter III.

23 Regourd, "Images de djinns et exorcisme," 254.

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From a photocopy of a manuscript entitled *Kitāb al-Mandal al-sulaymānī li-l-jamʿ wa-ghayrihi min al-adwiya al-nāfiʿa*, that I found in the possession of a practitioner in the vicinity of Ṣanʿāʾ, we know of the existence of another text, which is described as "a book of tested medicine" ("hadhā al-Kitāb fī ʿilm al-ṭibb al-mujarrab"). Also on the title page, we have the date when the copyist started to copy the book: Saturday, Shawwāl, 24, of the year 46 ("yawm al-sabt 24 Shawwāl sanat 46"). The photocopy is, obviously, a twentieth century item. If we accept the date on the title page 1346—and we think this is the right interpretation, the copyist started the 15th of April 1928.[24] In the margin, the birth of a child on a Saturday at the beginning of Rabīʿ al-thānī 1389/June 1969 was carefully recorded. We call this ms. (C).

In ms. 2774 of Ṣanʿāʾ/DaM (ff.56^{r}–64^{v}), another text starts on a separate folio, with a title page, which says: "wa-hadhā Mandal min *Kitāb ʿAdāt al-nujūm wa-ʿalāmāt ghāyāt al-ghuyūm*" of the *shaykh* and *faqīh* Nūr al-Dīn Abī al-Maʿālī Muslim (?) ibn Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī.[25] The topic of this text is "*mandal*" in connection with the stars.

Texts (A), (B) and (C) show colloquial, scriptural and content features that firmly place it in a Yemeni environment. The manuscript of Ṣanʿāʾ exhibits a known feature of the Yemeni script, i.e. *dāl* and *ṭāʾ* are, with some exceptions, under-punctuated throughout the text.[26] On ff. 48^{r}, l.13–14, and 43^{r}, l.10 of (B) linked to the zodiacal sign of Pisces (*burj al-hūt*), are mentioned the tribe of jinn Banū D.lāj[27] "min D.ʿayh/D.ʿaya (village) min Banī Isḥaq Ṣāḥib Ḥaḍramawt;" however another tribe is located in a place close to the Lake of Tiberias. Moreover, medicinal plants are, throughout (A) and (B), among the means used to

24 Year 1246H, as the other hypothesis, would bring us to the 7th of April 1831, a date which looks to us to be too early.

25 One Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī appears as commentator of a book by Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī composed in 758/1356, see GAL, S II, 106, no. 10. The title of another manuscript conserved in the Occidental Library in Ṣanʿāʾ, *al-Mandal ʿalā al-ithnay ʿashar*, shelf marked "*ṭibb*," no. 10, ff.141–147, in: Muḥammad Saʿīd Al-Malīḥ, and Aḥmad Muḥammad ʿĪsāwī, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt al-Maktaba al-gharbiyya bi-al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr bi-Ṣanʿāʾ* (Alexandria, s. d. [ca. 1398/1978]), 432, and *majmūʿ* no. 3033, ff.74–93, in: Aḥmad Muḥammad ʿĪsawī et al., *Fihris al-makhṭūṭāt al-yamaniyya li-Dār al-makhṭūṭāt wa-l-Maktaba al-gharbiyya bi-l-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr, Ṣanʿāʾ* (Qom-Tehran, 1425/1384/2005), vol. 2, 1280, suggests a relation between "*mandal*" and the zodiac. However, before drawing conclusions, the meaning of *mandal* in this context would have to be clarified.

26 Jan Just Witkam, "Yemeni Manuscripts in the University of Leiden Library. Acquisitions of the Year 2000: Texts and Themes," in *Manuscrits en transit. Le cas du Yémen*, ed. Anne Regourd (Guest ed.), *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 5, no. 2–3 (2014); although well attested in Yemen, it is not exclusively a feature of Yemeni manuscripts.

27 Where vowels of Arabic words are unknown, they are marked by a dot.

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cure possessed persons, and as a previous study shows, a proportion of 6/7th appear to belong to Yemeni pharmacopeia, of which many are available in Yemen and some are even endemic. Manuscript (C), p. 23, contains a Yemeni colloquial auxiliary "Anā ishtī minnak (kadhā)" used in the high and middle lands, which appears here in a sentence which has to be spoken aloud. Further, a jinni is said to live in a city on Mount Nuqum, overlooking Ṣanʿā' (p. 25).[28]

4 The 'Ethiopian' Text

This is a manuscript we found in the Library of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, University of Addis Ababa, with the shelve mark IES 286.[29]

Evidence for the circulation of texts, and manuscripts, between Yemen and Ethiopia is commonly accepted, although it deserves more detailed research.[30] The *marginalia* of IES 286 do not provide further information on the origin or circulation of the manuscript. However, close attention to the script, to some characteristic ways of writing flexible vowels and strokes of *kāf*s with a thinner trait, and to the lay out more specifically, how the copyist deals with left margins, as well as the level of knowledge in Arabic, all indicate an Ethiopian hand, and show a Hararī style in several places. This is enough for us to say that the text of *al-Mandal al-sulaymānī* was known in Ethiopian milieus, and certainly in that of Harar. In all Ethiopia, Harar is known to be the largest and the most ancient centre for the production of manuscripts in Arabic and ʿAjamī.[31]

The text is written in a notebook of lined paper. Notebooks have already been described as media for manuscripts in Ethiopia and Yemen,[32] something which

28 For all this, see Regourd, "Le *Kitāb al-Mandal al-sulaymānī*," 130a–131b, and the Appendix on the medicinal plants, 132a–136b.

29 A short description of the item can be found in: Alessandro Gori et al., *A Handlist of the Manuscripts in the Institute for Ethiopian Studies. The Arabic Material of the Ethiopian Islamic Tradition* (Eugene (OR): Pickwick Publication, 2014), 11, IES 286. For a more comprehensive presentation of the items of the IES collection, see the database of the Project "Islam in the Horn of Africa," https://islhornafr.tors.ku.dk/ under IES.

30 As I tried to show, "Yemen > Ethiopia. Circulation of Texts," Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, May 20, 2021, talk accessible on line, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wFyoY7JF-nI

31 See Giorgio Banti, "Harari literature," in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2005), vol. 2, 1028a–1030a.

32 Yemen: list of 18 manuscripts on notebooks from the collection ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Hadhrami, see Regourd, "Papiers filigranés de manuscrits de Zabīd, premier tiers du XVIII^{e} jusqu'au milieu du XX^{e} siècle: papiers importés et 'locaux'," in *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition*, ed. David Hollenberg, Christoph Rauch and Sabine Schmidtke (Leiden/Boston:

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shows how long the manuscript tradition lasted in both countries, despite printing and despite, even, photocopying. Manuscript literary texts in notebooks first appear at the beginning of the twentieth century. As for Ms. IES 286, it is an item from the early twentieth century.

It seems therefore that the "*al-Mandal*" method appears in several books on exorcism. Of all four Yemeni texts involving a "*mandal*," and one more referred to by the extant manuscripts as copy-based, only the last one bears the name of an author, i.e. al-Shīrāzī, and only (A) and (C) were, clearly, copied from other manuscripts. The six texts, once we include the manuscript of Addis/IES, are different if we compare them *in extenso*. The Addis manuscript states clearly that *al-Mandal al-sulaymānī* is, by comparison with other protection/exorcism systems, specifically concerned with the use of *'azā'im*, i.e. incantations to summon jinn in order to exorcise people and places, and that this is the method upon which the *al-Mandal al-sulaymānī* will elaborate.

We will now proceed to a close comparison of parts of the text of *al-Mandal al-sulaymānī*, which are common to the manuscript Ṣanʿā'/DaM, and Addis/IES to understand which texts were in circulation.

5 Comparison between the Text of Ṣanʿā'/DaM (A) and of Addis/IES

Of the three texts contained in Ṣanʿā'/DaM, (A) is the one which contains "the section on exorcism," the transmission of which interests us.

5.1 *Ṣanʿā'/DaM (A)*

The first six folios of manuscript (A) report a version of the usurpation of King Solomon's throne by a demon, after which he lost the ring that gave him the power to control the entire world of the living; then follows a description of the twelve tribes of the jinn who exist in Muslim countries (their appearance, their food, where they live …), and symptoms of their respective presence in the afflicted, in all, a compendium of knowledge useful to practitioners (1r to 6r, l.12).[33]

Brill, 2015), 231–232. Ethiopia: Ewald Wagner, *Harari-Texte in arabischer Schrift mit Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1983), tells us about an Italian ledger notebook dated 1938; Gori et al., *A Handlist*, ms. IES 286; numerous other examples in the Abdullahi Sharif collection at the Museum of Harar and in the database of the project "Islam in the Horn of Africa."

33 See Regourd, "Images de djinns et exorcisme dans le *Mandal al-sulaymānī*," 265–275 (text in Arabic), 276–288 (transl. into French). A loose folio from a book manuscript in Arabic,

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Then, a short passage (ff.6r, l.13 to 6v, l.4) introduces all the topics which take up the remainder of the book: the various methods of protection, the control of the jinn, and remedies, bearing in mind that each of the twelve tribes of jinn has its own characteristics and requires its own remedies (sing. *ʿilāj*) (6r, l.13–17).

Then, a brief section relates the different tribes of the jinn to days of the week, and in some cases to the time of day (6r, l.17 to 6v, l.4).[34]

The section from the f.6v, l.5, at f.7v, that we named the "section on exorcism using a *mandal*," begins with a section mark (*bāb*), but has a second isolated subdivision (*faṣl*, ff.6b, l.14). However, it was possible to define the section without difficulty because the exorcism described there proceeds in steps. After the presentation of the twelve tribes of the jinn, where the *mandal* to use for each of them is given, it brings us to the heart of the practice that uses the *mandal*.[35]

Then the text proceeds to a more elaborate discussion of the appropriate protections (*ḥurūz*) against each tribe (8r, l.1 to 12r, l.1). The text offers examples of protections against all the jinn and against particular groups of jinn (12r, l.2–13r, l.2).[36]

From here to 17r, l.17, the text deals mainly with medication (*ʿilāj*), among them sternutatories (*saʿūṭ*), with marks of sections or rubricated titles. Finally, until the end of ms. (A), we have four different incantations (*ʿazaʾim*).

However, collation with f.21r indicates that the text of (A) is in conformity with the 'original' up to the mark in the text (a tick). This original would include, according to the collation, 18 folios (*ṣafḥa*), 5 at the beginning and 13 at the end. And, if our count is correct, it would take away from (A), first, a dozen lines, coming after the mark in the text, which are also scratched out and which we have not mentioned here, and, on the other hand, precisely the ff.6v to 7v (the "section on exorcism using a *mandal*").[37]

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conserved in the David Kauffmann Collection of Geniza (DKG) documents (Cairo), at the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest (DKG no. 252a–b), seems on the basis of a very brief examination to be another example of a work giving the appropriate remedies to exorcise each of the twelve tribes of jinn (for a presentation of the DKG documents in Arabic, and DKG 252a–b, see Regourd, "Arabic documents from the Cairo Geniza in the David Kaufmann Collection in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences—Budapest," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 3/2 (2012): 12, 13). DKG no. 252a–b is currently being edited by the author of this chapter, together with the other DKG documents in Arabic on divination and magic.

34 Part of the original text of ff.6r, l.13 to 6v, l.4, is accessible in: Regourd, "Images de djinns et exorcisme dans le *Mandal al-sulaymānī*," 294, Fac-similé 6 (f.6r).

35 The main lines of this text are detailed in: Regourd, "Images de djinns et exorcisme dans le *Mandal al-sulaymānī*," 262–263.

36 See a more detailed description in Table 2.1.

37 We repeat here Regourd, "Le *Kitāb al-Mandal al-sulaymānī* appliqué," 144–145.

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5.2 *Addis/IES*

The text of the Addis manuscript is written on 28 ff. and has from 11 to 18 lines a folio.

It opens with a text which lacks its beginning. As the bloc of quires is not fixed to the cover, which is made of rough cardboard with its two boards fixed together with a strip of cloth sewn to the boards with a visible blue thread, it appears that we do not have in our hands the original manuscript, but an incomplete version.

It is composed of the following chapters/sections:

i. F.1^{r}, l.1 to 8^{r}: [*Kitāb al-ḥirz al-awwal al-musammā al-jalb al-maknūn*?] The text deals with attracting (*jalaba*) jinn by addressing *ʿazā'im* to their Chiefs (*amīr*s, *malik*s). In the context of this book, summoning jinn is a way to cure diseases caused by them and to ensure their submission to God. While performing this operation, the practitioner must protect himself.
   a. F.1^{r}, l.1 to 2^{r}, l.9: acephalous, without title. *Tatimma*, "tammat."
   b. F.2^{r}, l.9–10 to 4^{r}, l.8: *Bāb al-sharḥ al-jalb al-maknūn*, rubricated. The text of the *ʿazīma* which is given here presents the jinni al-Aḥmar as servant and it is also the one used by Sulaymān b. Dāūd to make the jinni submit to him. *Tatimma*, "Tamma[38] al-sharḥ al-jalb al-maknūn al-mubārak."

Separation mark

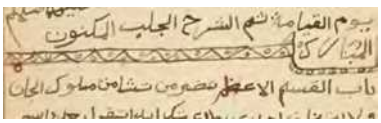

FIGURE 2.1
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   c. F.4^{r}, l.9 to 4^{v}, l.12: *Bāb al-qism al-aʿẓam*, which insists specifically on the use of names.
   d. F.4^{v}, l.12 to 5^{r}, l.9: *Bāb al-aṣḥāb al-aṭwāf*, rubricated. About an extraordinary tribe of jinn. *Tatimma*, "Tamma al-qism."
   e. F.5^{r}, l.9 to 6^{v}, l.10: *Bāb ṣifat al-dā'ira*, "Bāb" rubricated. *Tatimma*, which marks the transition between two sections: "Tamm al-ḥirz al-awwal." For the practitioner to protect himself.

38 In the manuscript: *th.m.*

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f. F.6v, l.10 to 8r: *Bāb* [*al*]-*ḥirz al-thānī mandal al-ʿazīma awwal*[39] *wa-l-taṣarruf wa-l-jāmʿ ʿalā jamīʿ al-jānn*, "Bāb" rubricated. Same purpose again. *Tatimma*, "Tammat al-ʿazīma wa-hadhā ṣūratuhā," followed by a red separation mark, between the text and the illustration.

FIGURE 2.2
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ii. F.8v, l.1 to 16r, l.12: *Kitāb al-ḥirz al-thānī wa-l-mandal al-sulaymānī*.[40]

8ب
1. كتاب الحرز الثاني والمندل السليمني الفايق علي
2. جميع المنادل المعروفة وهو مندل العزايم في
3. علاج الجان والمصاريع وفيه ما تحب الاسرار
4. في تصرف الأجنان وما وصفته لك لسليمن
5. بن داود عليه السلام لا أخوف من الجان ان بطغو
6. او[41] .... على المؤمنين امانة االله (هكذا) عليك يا من و
7. قف على هذا الكتاب ان لا تعلمه لاحد لا يخا
8. ف الله ولا يحفظه واتق الله تع ولا تطلع عليه
9. الا من كان شيخا لان السفها ستغراين
10. له ولكن الحائل الله بينهم وبينه وهو المند
11. ل العظيم الذي فيه حقائق الجان وصورهم
12. فيه علي التحقيق والتصحيح والله اعلم

39 In the manuscript: *w.ā.l.*
40 The text of this section is edited as it mentions specifically *al-mandal al-sulaymānī*.
41 بطعوا with a mark on the top of the letter *ʿayn*.

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Separation mark, a red line

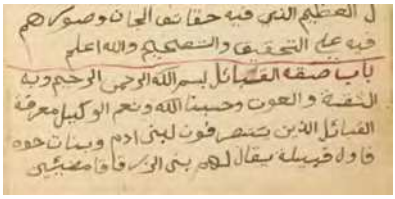

FIGURE 2.3
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a. F.8^{v}, l.13 to 14^{v}, l.10: *Bāb ṣifat al-qabā'il* (see detail in Table 1), rubricated. *Tatimma*: "Tammat al-manādil al-mubārak (sic)."
b. F.14^{v}, l.10 to 15^{r}, l.5: Tribes of jinn in relation to the days of the week.
c. F.15^{r}, l.5–16^{r}, l.11: On exorcism, without transition in ms. Addis/IES. *Tatimma*: "Tammat hadhā al-mandal."
d. F.16^{r}, l.11 to 22^{v}: Without title in ms. Addis/IES, but a subject: "likull qabīla minhum ḥirzuhu," follows the description of protections against each tribe of jinn.
    1. F.16^{r}, l.12 to 16^{v}, l.1: *ḥirz al-qabīla al-ūlā*.
    2. F.16^{v}, l.1–6: second tribe.
    3. F.16^{v}, l.7–13: third tribe.
    4. F.16^{v}, l.14–16: fourth tribe.
    5. F.16^{v}, l.16 to 17^{r}, l.6: fifth and sixth tribe.
    6. F.17^{r}, l.7–12: seventh and eighth tribe.

Separation mark, a black line

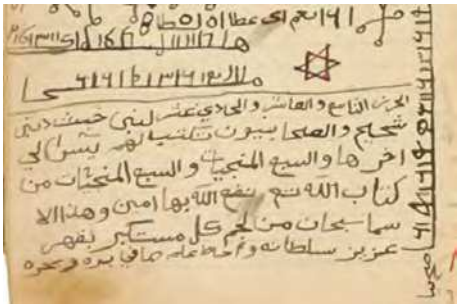

FIGURE 2.4
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7. F.17^{r}, l.13–19 and 1 l. in the right margin: ninth, tenth, and eleventh tribe.
8. F.17^{v}: all about 6-pointed stars (5 of them) and talismanic formulas, against the twelfth tribe?

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9. F.18r, l.1: *Tatimma*, "Tammat al-ḥurūz al-mubāraka al-ʿaẓīma yanfaʿ Allāh bihā."

e. Ff.18r, l.1 to 18v, l.5: *ʿazīma* against al-Malik al-Aḥmar, which comes after the use of *ḥirz*s. *Tatimma*, "Tammat al-ʿazīma wa-l-ḥamdu li-llāh rabb al-ʿālamīn wa-hadhihi ṣūratuhu."

f. Ff.18v, l.6 to 20r, l.2: *Bāb, ʿazīma* against Abū ʿAlī, "Sayyid al-jānn wa-malikuhum." *Tatimma*, "Tammat ṣūratuhu, amīn."

g. Ff.20r, l.3 to 21r: *Bāb ʿazīmat Zawbaʿa*.[42] *Tatimma*, "Tammat."

h. Ff.21r, l.1 to 22v: On the twelve protective rings used by the practitioner, each one acts against a tribe, with sketches. *Tatimma*, "Tammat al-khawātim al-mubārak (sic) al-ithnā ʿashar bi-ḥamd Allāh wa-ḥasan tawfīqihi," followed by three different *taṣliya*s and "*amīn*." The last *taṣliya* and "*amīn*" are rubricated in a triangle made of seven lines in black and red ink. Quarter of the folio empty.

FIGURE 2.5
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iii. Ff.23r, l.1 to 23v, l.10: Prayer addressed to God. Various requests, not particularly related to the general topic of the manuscript. *Tatimma*, "Tammat."

42 Terrible and malevolent demon, probably the one who commands hurricanes and whirlwinds, Albert de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1860), vol. 1, 971a.

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Separation mark, a red and black border

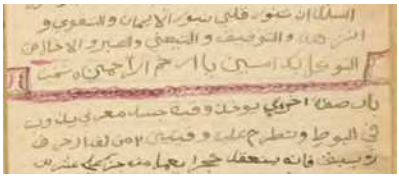

FIGURE 2.6
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iv. Ff.23^{v}, l.11 to 26^{r}, l.9; the first chapter starts straight after the *tatimma*, and the separation marks between iii and iv, and speaks about "other properties" (*ṣifat ukhrā*), which allows us to say it is acephalous.
   a. Ff.23^{v}, l.11 to 25^{r}, l.5, recipes
      1. F.23^{v}, l.11–14: *Bāb ṣifat ukhrā*.
      2. F.23^{v}, l.14–16: *Bāb ṣifat ukhrā*.
      3. F.24^{r}, l.1–2: *Bāb ṣifat ukhrā*.
      4. F.24^{r}, l.2–4: *Bāb* [*ṣifat u*]*khrā*.
      5. F.24^{r}, l.4–8: *Bāb al-ukhrā*.

Separation mark, a thick red line with special features at each end

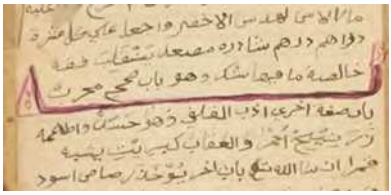

FIGURE 2.7
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      6. F.24^{r}, l.9–11: *Bāb ṣifat ukhrā*.
      7. F.24^{r}, l.11–14: *Bāb ṣifat ukhrā*. *Tatimma*, "Tammat."
      8. F.24^{r}, l.15 to 24^{v}, l.3: *Bāb ṣifat akhar*. *Tatimma*, "Tammat."
      9. F.24^{v}, l.3–12: *Bāb ṣifat ukhrā*.
      10. F.24^{v}, l.12–14: *Bāb ukhrā*.
      11. F.24^{v}, l.14–17: *Bāb ṣifat ukhrā*. *Tatimma*, "Tammat."
      12. F.25^{r}, l.1–5: "Wa-hadhihi ṣifatuhā wa-ṣūratuhā wa-sāʿatuhā limā ḍayyiq ʿalaynā fī al-kitāb sawwaqnā ilā hunā," followed by the representation. *Tatimma*, "Tammat."
   b. Ff.25^{v}, l.1 to 26^{r}, l.9: "Wa-hadhā ism Allāh al-aʿẓam."

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Separation mark, a black line

FIGURE 2.8
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v. Ff.26r, l.10 to 28v, l.14: incantations (*ʿazāʾim*).
28v, end of the manuscript, which is apodous.

As a general feature, the Addis manuscript indicates that the man holding the *qalam* had acquired esoteric knowledge at some time. He obscures the text by transposing characters in words, as in the science of letters (*ʿilm al-ḥurūf*). Here the application is not systematic. See for instance: f.15r, l.6 (our Annex) *w.ā.l* (وال) for "first," i.e. "*awwal* (اول);" this *w.ā.l* with the meaning of *awwal* appears on the same line after a first "*awwal*" correctly spelled; between the two *awwal*s, i.e. "*awwal*" then "*w.ā.l*," stands a word, *ibtidā* (ابتدا), the final *alif* of which precedes *w.ā.l*, like this:

ابتدا وال;

at this end, *w.ā.l*, which in itself has no meaning here, looks similar to *awwal* (ابتدا وال = ابتدا اول); the all sequence is: "فا و ل ا بتد ا وا ل احْرِزَ نفسك وا كْتُبْ;" the three words, اول ابتدا وال, stand roughly in the middle of the line. Another example is *wāw* = واو for 'و' coordination mark, spelled out, like on f.15r, l.7 (see the Annex again), "واواالخواتم" *wāw al-khawātim*.

In the science of letters, letters can be counted as 'و'=6, as well as واو *wāw*=13. Gemination of *alif*s can be found in Egyptian manuscripts as early as the Mamlūk period. But here the total number of *alif*s does not change, so that the value of the sentence remains unchanged when turning each letter into numbers. These are features that manuscript Ṣanʿāʾ/DaM parts (A) and (B) do not share.

As we can easily see from Table 2.1, the Addis manuscript shares with Ṣanʿāʾ/DaM (A) the section on the description of the twelve tribes of jinn (ms. (A), 2v–6r, l.12 / Addis/IES, 8v, l.1–14v, l.9), then the section which relates the tribes of jinn to the days of the week (ms. (A), 6r, l.17–6v, l.4 / ms. Addis/IES, 14v, l.10–15r, l.5), then the section on exorcism using a *mandal* (ms. (A), f.6v, l.5–f.7v / ms. Addis/IES, 15r, l.5–16r, l.11). The representations of the Chief of the tribes in the manuscript of Ṣanʿāʾ are not similar to their homologues in the manuscript of Addis.

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The twelve rings which each correspond to a tribe of jinn are described in both cases, but while this comes at the end of the section on exorcism by the *mandal* in the ms. Ṣanʿāʾ/DaM (A), 7^{v}, l.15 sq., it is a complete but untitled section, placed well after the section on protective talismans in the ms. Addis/IES, 21^{r}, l.1–22^{v}. The representation of the rings themselves also differs.[43] The section on protective talismans (*ḥurūz*) specific to each tribe, though shared by the two manuscript texts, is much shorter in the ms. Addis, as clearly shown in Table 2.1 (ms. Ṣanʿāʾ/DaM (A), 8^{r}, l.1–12^{r}, l.1+12^{r}, l.2–13^{r}, l.2, i.e. ca. 11 ff./ms. Addis/IES, 16^{r}, l.11–17^{r}, l.13, maybe 17^{v}, i.e. 3 to 4 ff.). In both cases, the same protective talisman is prescribed for a grouping of the first five tribes (in the two manuscripts, the fifth and sixth tribes are grouped together, then for tribes seven to ten in Ṣanʿāʾ/DaM (A), but for tribes seven and eight, then tribes nine to eleven in the ms. Addis/IES).

In both manuscripts, Qurʾanic sura and names (*asmāʾ*) are used for protective talismans and it is to these means that the manuscript of Addis is limited. And even in these passages, the two manuscript texts do not overlap: the names are different and the required suras overlap only partially. Neither of the two manuscripts proposes a talisman which protects against the twelfth and last tribe, but the ms. Ṣanʿāʾ/DaM (A) contains a subdivision on a talisman against all jinn (12^{r}, l.2–12^{v}, l.8).

In the ms. Ṣanʿāʾ/DaM (A), a section (*faṣl*) is inserted on men who have become mad and possessed (11^{r}, last line–11^{v}, l.2) and a chapter (*bāb*) on declaiming a credo (*ʿaqīda*) to drive away all the vicious and sinner (*al-fasaqa*), jinn, demons (*al-shayāṭīn*), and giants (*al-marada*) (12^{v}, l.9–13^{r}, l.2).

43 For talismanic rings, cf. Venetia Porter, "The collection of Arabic and Persian Seals and Amulets in the British Museum: Notes on a History," in this volume.

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TABLE 2.1 Sections shared by manuscripts Ṣanʿāʾ/DaM (A) and Addis/IES

Divisions of the text		Manuscripts	
Sections	**Subsections**	**Ṣanʿāʾ/DaM (A) ff.**	**Addis/IES ff.**
	Title	1r, title page *Kitāb al-Mandal al-sulaymānī li-l-jamʿ wa-l-farq wa-l-ḥurūz*	8v, l.1, title of a chapter-like "Kitāb al-ḥirz al-thānī wa-l-Mandal al-sulaymānī …"
Description of the 12 tribes of jinn, rubricated	Bāb ṣifat al-qabāʾil	2v–6r, l.12	8v, l.1–14v, l.9 (separation mark, and rubrication)
	First tribe, Banū al-Zarqāʾ	2v, l.2 Image of the Chief: 2v, l.10	8v, l.16 IMAGE: 9r, l.10
	Second tribe, Banū Arḥam (Ṣanʿāʾ) / Banū al-Tāmm al-Arḥam (Addis)	2v, l.11 IMAGE: 3r, l.4	9r, l.12 IMAGE: 9v, l.9
	Third tribe, Banū Hawj.l (Ṣanʿāʾ) / Banū Hawjal (Addis)	3r, l.5 IMAGE: 3r, l.15	9v, l.11 IMAGE: 10r, l.7
	Fourth tribe, Banū Khaṭfān	3r, l.17 IMAGE: 3v, l.12	10r, l.8 IMAGE: 10v, l.3
	Fifth tribe, Banū H.r.h.ra	3v, l.13 IMAGE: 4r, l.3	10v, l.5 IMAGE: 11r, l.5
	Sixth tribe, Banū Araq, Banū Shuʿla (Ṣanʿāʾ) / Banū Araq[44] (Addis)	4r, l.4 IMAGE: 4r, l.14	11r, l.7 (rubrication) IMAGE: 11v, l.3
	Seventh tribe, Ḥabashā (Ṣanʿāʾ) / Banū Khayshān (Addis)	4r, l.15 IMAGE: 4v, l.8	11v, l.5 (rubrication) IMAGE: 12r, l.5
	Eighth tribe, Abnāʾ al-Ṭayr (Ṣanʿāʾ) / Banū al-Siḥāb (Addis)	4v, l.9 IMAGE: 4v, l.18	12r, l.7 IMAGE: 12v, l.3

44 In the original, Araf.

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TABLE 2.1 Sections shared by manuscripts Ṣanʿāʾ/DaM (A) and Addis/IES (*cont.*)

Divisions of the text		Manuscripts	
Sections	**Subsections**	**Ṣanʿāʾ/DaM (A) ff.**	**Addis/IES ff.**
	Ninth tribe, Banū Sh.jīḥ (Ṣanʿāʾ) / without diacritics, Banū S.ḥīḥ (Addis)	4ᵛ, l.19 IMAGE: 5ʳ, l.11	12ᵛ, l.5 IMAGE: 13ʳ, l.3
	Tenth tribe, Banū D.l.hāsh (Ṣanʿāʾ) / Banū D.ʿīt.m (Addis)	5ʳ, l.12 IMAGE: 5ᵛ, l.2	13ʳ, l.6 IMAGE: 13ᵛ, l.2
	Eleventh tribe, al-Ṣaḥāb(?)iyyūn (ou al-Ṣ.ḥāb(?)iʾūn, al-Ṣaḥ-ḥāb(?)iyyūn, al-Ṣ.ḥ.ḥāb(?)iʾūn)	5ᵛ, l.3 IMAGE: 5ᵛ, l.12	13ᵛ, l.5 IMAGE: 14ʳ, l.5
	Twelfth tribe, (Banū) Qawāʾid, "Wa-hum min Iblīs (…) wa-hum yuwaswisūna" (Ṣanʿāʾ) / al-Muwaswasūn (Addis)	5ᵛ, l.13 IMAGE: 6ʳ, l.11	14ʳ, l.6 IMAGE: 14ᵛ, l.8
	Tatimma	6ʳ, l.12, "tammat al-ṣifa"	14ᵛ, l.9, "tammat al-manādil al-mubārak (sic)"
Tribes of jinn in relation to the days of the week		6ʳ, l.17–6ᵛ, l.4	14ᵛ, l.10–5ʳ, l.5
On exorcism using a *mandal*		6ᵛ, l.5–7ᵛ	15ʳ, l.5–16ʳ, l.11 (see Annex)
Twelve rings (*khawātim*)		Part of the section on exorcism, 7ᵛ, l.15 sq.	21ʳ, l.1–22ᵛ, with *tatimma*, and colophon-like
Protections (*ḥurūz*) against each tribe		8ʳ, l.1–12ʳ, l.1+12ʳ, l.2–13ʳ, l.2 (= 11 ff.)	16ʳ, l.11–17ʳ, l.13, maybe 17ᵛ (= 3 to 4 ff.)
	ḥirz al-qabīla al-ūlā, Banū al-Zarqāʾ	8ʳ	16ʳ, l.12 to 16ᵛ, l.1 only suras and *asmāʾ*
	second tribe, Banū Arḥam	8ᵛ–9ʳ, l.3	16ᵛ, l.1–6 only suras and *asmāʾ*
	third tribe, Banū Hawjal	9ʳ, l.4–9ᵛ, l.1	16ᵛ, l.7–13 only suras and *asmāʾ*
	fourth tribe, Banū Khaṭfān	9ᵛ, l.2–10ʳ, l.6	16ᵛ, l.14–16 only suras and *asmāʾ*
	fifth and sixth tribe, Banū H.r.h.ra and Qāfila (Ṣanʿāʾ) / Fāliqa (Addis)	10ʳ, l.6–11ʳ including two six-pointed stars rings bearing *asmāʾ*	16ᵛ, l.16 to 17ʳ, l.6 only suras and *asmāʾ* (rubrication)

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TABLE 2.1 Sections shared by manuscripts Ṣanʿāʾ/DaM (A) and Addis/IES (*cont.*)

Divisions of the text		Manuscripts	
Sections	**Subsections**	**Ṣanʿāʾ/DaM (A) ff.**	**Addis/IES ff.**
	Faṣl ʿan al-rajul al-majnūn wa-l-mashḥūr aw fīhi balgham	11r, l. at the bottom of the page–11v, l.2	/
	tribes grouped	Banū Ḥabashā, Banū Siḥāb, Banū Sh.jīḥ, Banū Dayl.hāsh (?) 11v, l.3–12r, l.1	seventh and eighth tribe, Banū Siḥāb and Banū D.ʿīth 17r, l.7–12 only suras and *asmāʾ*
			ninth, tenth, and eleventh tribe, Banū Khubth, Banū Sh.jīḥ, and al-Ṣaḥāb(?)iyyūn (ou al-Ṣ.ḥāb(?)iʾūn, al-Ṣaḥ-ḥāb(?)iyyūn, al-Ṣ.ḥḥāb(?)iʾūn) 17r, l.13–19 and 1 l. in the right margin only suras and *asmāʾ* (separation mark)
			17v all about 6-pointed stars (5 of them) and talismanic formulas, against the twelfth tribe?
	Bāb ḥirz jāmiʿ	12r, l.2–12v, l.8	/
	Bāb ʿaqīda ʿalā jamīʿ al-fusaqa	12v, l.9–13r, l.2	/
		/	18r, l.1 *Tatimma*, "Tammat al-ḥurūz al-mubāraka al-ʿaẓīma yanfaʿ Allāh bihā."

6 Comparison between Addis and Other Yemeni Manuscripts

During the preparation of this chapter, we proceeded further to a comparison between Ṣanʿāʾ/DaM (B) and Addis/IES. But it is between the manuscripts Ṣanʿāʾ/DaM (A) and Addis/IES that textual cross-references are most obvious. The Ṣanʿāʾ/DaM (A) and (B) manuscripts share with the ms. Addis/IES the same subject, exorcism, and propose similar means, eg. the eviction of jinn or "*jalb*" corresponds to "*ṣarf ʿan*," evoked in the ms. Ṣanʿāʾ (B) (f.49r, l.1sq.). One feels here an affinity of attitude and practice. However, the Ṣanʿāʾ/DaM (A) and (B) manuscripts regularly refer to the *ṣarʿ* (or formula of exorcism) while the ms.

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Addis/IES, as we have it, refers to the couple *ṣarʿ*/*maṣrūʿ* (or possessed person) only in the section on exorcism by the *mandal* (ms. Ṣanʿāʾ/DaM (A), 6^{v}, l.5–7^{v}; ms. Addis/IES, 15^{r}, l.5–16^{r}, l.11) and by an irregular plural (*jamʿa taksīr*), derived from the same root, *maṣārīʿ*, which appears in the general introduction to "Kitāb al-ḥirz al-thānī wa-l-Mandal al-sulaymānī …" (ms. Addis/IES, 8^{v}, l.3, Arabic text *supra*).

If we now look at the literal text of both manuscripts, the same sections follow, the same themes are treated, often sentence by sentence, and the terminology is generally shared, although the sentences are differently formulated. In addition, many sections start without headings in Addis/IES.

7 Discussion & Conclusions

The ms. Addis/IES as we have it in our hands is composed of two or three books. Book one is acephalous, a book two (?) starts maybe f.4^{r}, l.9, book (*kitāb*) three follows without transition, and is apodous. It is therefore difficult to infer from the manuscript that these three books were considered as parts of the same work. Book three starts with a general statement on its subject, giving an idea of some of its further developments and of the means used, but does not detail its general organisation, or display paragraphs of transition from one section/chapter to another. In addition, several chapters and sections have no headings like *bāb*, *faṣl*, etc. followed by a rubricated title: new sections are rather suggested by a *tatimma* which closes the previous section. Moreover, ms. Addis/IES bears separation marks like red lines which sometimes mark the end of a section, but may also stand in the middle of a list like f.24^{r}, l.8, or between two sections not easily related like 26^{r}, l.9–l.10, or at what might be the end of Book one (4^{r}, l.8–9), or between Book three, section iii, the position of which is difficult to understand, and section iv, which seems apodous (23^{v}, l.10–l.11). As a result, the text as it appears in the manuscript of Addis does not seem to have been written to be seen or accessible by others, but looks much more like personal notes made from one or more manuscripts in a notebook/scrapbook by a practitioner. The 'hidden script' system supports the idea that a practitioner augmented the text on the basis of his own knowledge.

The 'hidden script' works as a kind of warning that only those readers who have knowledge of this science can access the text, and as a warning to the unprepared not to continue reading. Furthermore, the hidden script ensures that not everyone can make out the text, which could fall into almost anyone's hands.

In comparison ms. Ṣanʿāʾ/DaM (A), bearing a collation on its f.21^{r}, seems to be the result of the general system of literary transmission.

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The section on exorcism using a *mandal* is at the heart of the work of deconstruction of the manuscript texts carried out here in order to establish their circulation. This section, which does not seem to have belonged to the 'mother' manuscript that was used for the collation of ms. Ṣan'ā'/DaM (A), does appear in the ms. Addis/IES. So, although it was previously regarded as an addition to the 'original'[45] it is an integral part of the Addis/IES manuscript and shows that more than one manuscript served as a source for the text of Ṣan'ā' and Addis. The evidence both manuscripts provide of their copyist, their place of conservation, and their language, implies that this section was known in the twentieth century to a Yemeni and Ethiopian, or at least to a Harari audience, and that it was known in the last quarter of the eighteenth century/first quarter of the nineteenth century to one in Yemen, so that we can infer the existence of a complementary path of transmission between the medieval Arab and Latin worlds. This inference is supported by the strong tradition of Solomonic magic in Ethiopia as magic in Christian contexts testifies.[46]

The *Kitāb al-Mandal al-sulaymānī* is a 'technical' work for the use of specialists. Yemeni ms. (C) was found in the possession of a practitioner, and Addis (IES) is a kind of holograph which seems to address a specialized audience. The way in which the latter reached a public library remains to be understood, but beyond the six (maybe more) texts in our hands or inferred, we expect there are many more items in private hands.

The example of a holograph and a manuscript treated as a copy both referring to a common text once more reveals the limits to the method of text editing based on the establishment of a *stemma codicum*[47] and, by extension, the limits to the notion of *hapax*, arguments that are added to those of contextualization by the social conditions of the production of a text.[48] All these cases are especially relevant in the case of Magic.[49]

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45 Regourd, "*Al-Mandal al-sulaymānī* appliqué," 144–145.

46 For Solomonic magic in a Christian contexts, see the current research of Eyob Derillo (British Library, Department of Asia and Africa Studies) which focuses on the nature and historical development of the concept of Ethiopian 'magic' and its use in such a context: he is currently completing his doctorate at SOAS, Department of Religions and Philosophies.

47 Paul Mertens, "Pour ou contre le 'stemma codicum'? À propos d'un livre récent sur les manuscrits d'Eschyle," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 43, no. 1 (1965); 72–78; Witkam, "Establishing the stemma: fact or fiction?," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 3 (1988): 88–101; Charlotte Touati, "Pourquoi éditer un manuscrit unique? L'édition critique des écrits apocryphes: de l'arbre au mycélium," 2013 onwards, 13 p., PDF on line.

48 Stamatiadou and Tsamadou-Jacoberger, eds, *Texte et contexte. Méthodes et outils de l'édition critique de quelques manuscrits arabes, grecs, italiens et latins* (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2019).

49 For the issue of the history of the copying of manuscripts of subjects like medicine and

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8 Annex

Text edition of the section on exorcism using a *mandal* in ms. Addis/IES 286.[50]

FIGURE 2.9 Amulet with teardrop shape at top. Ms. Addis/IES 286, ff.14v–15r (Col. Univ. Papyrus 705b)
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14ب

12. (...) فلكل قبيلة

13. منهم صرف وعلاج في ساعات معروفة

15أ

1. مختلفة واول قبيلة منهم يعتزلون يوم الا

2. حد القبيله الثانية يوم الاثنين الثَالِثَة بِيوم

magic, cf. Petra Sijpesteijn, "Arabic Medical-Magical Manuscripts: A Living Tradition," in this volume.

50 For comparison, see the text of the same section in Ṣanʿāʾ (A) in Regourd, "*Al-Mandal al-sulaymānī* appliqué," text in Arabic, 137–141; description of its content, 141–144.

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3. الثلاثة الرابعت (هكذا) بيوم الاربعا الخامِسَة
4. بيوم الخميس السادسة بيوم الجمعة السابعة
5. بيوم السبت وكل قبيلة منهم يوم فاذا ار[دت]
6. [ار]دت علاجهم فاول ابتدا وال[51] احْرِزَ نفسك وَاكْتُبْ
7. الا بجام واواخواتم وعلقهن عليك واذا[52] دخلت
8. علي من فيه الم فاسل[53] اهل بيــته فانه لا يزال فيه
9. احد هولا القبائل فاكتب لَهُ الخاتم وا الصروع
10. واكتب له سورة الم نشرح لك صدرك الخ علي
11. انا ثلاث مرات[54] وترش بها وجهه ويديه بها
12. وجهه قبضة واذا اردت صرع المصروع اربط
13. ابهميه وخبيه (؟)[55] ويديه بخيت[56] من صوف وقل
14. مهمه يا ملعون اخرج واقتلك ويكون قد لبس
15. ثوبا جديدا حين بيدا في علاجه وهذا صفة
16. المندل الذي تكتبه للعاصي عليك على هذا الهيئه ا[57]
17. التي تراها وصلي الله علي سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه
18. وسلم

15ب
1. وهو هذا

51 Stands probably for: اول.
52 وادا.
53 Stands probably for: اسئل, from the verb *sa'ala*.
54 No diacritics on *tā'*.
55 حبيه.
56 No diacritics on *tā'*.
57 *Alif*, first letter of the following word, *allatī*, that the copyist rewrote in full on the following line.

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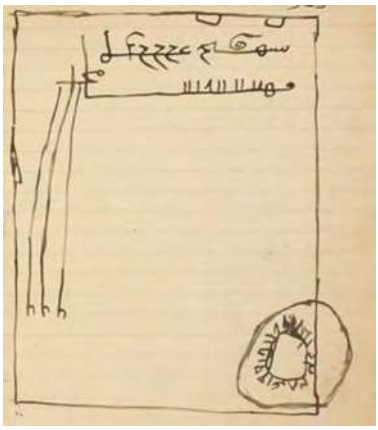

FIGURE 2.10
Ms. Addis/IES 286, f.15^{v}
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(رســـــــــــــم)

FIGURE 2.11
Ms. Addis/IES 286, f.16^{r}
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16أ

1. ثم (مرتان) تكتب مندل كل قبيلة علي باب هذا ا ا المندل (هكذا) و
2. تخط[58] في الارض بسكين هندوان حاد وتجعل المندل

58 تحط.

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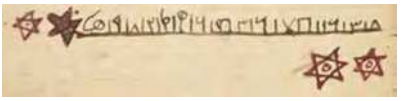
3. الجديد[59] في وسط وتبخر في قسط والعلك والصبر وتجعل [...
4. ..] قرة واترك المصاب في موضع[60] عال مطلع عليك حيث
5. يراك ولا تراه وقل مثل[61] الكلاب والذباب[62] واساله فان قال
6. حيات وحنشات فرش بالما وبخر باللبان[63] واجلب وادعى بما
7. شئت وهذا الجلب الذي تجلبه يا معشر الجن ولأنس
8. الي قوله بسلطانِ سنضرع لكم ايها الثقلان ثم قل مـ[64]
9. ما تري فان قال على فراش فاكْتُبْ[65] عَلَيَّ طَهرَكَ سَلَامٍ ا
10. آمين وقل مَا تَرَئِيْ في خلق الرحمن من تفَاوت فارجع البصر
11. ~~كرتين~~[66] هل تري من فطور الي حسير واساله فإنّه[67]
12. يجيبك وَيَخْبِرك[68] بأمره[69] تمت هذا المَنْدَلْ لِكُلِّ قَبِيْلَةَ[70]
13. منهم حرزه اهـ القبيلة الاولي يكتب لهم الفاتحة و
14. وآية[71] الكرسِيّ[72] والمعوّذتين[73]
15–16. 

59 الحديد.
60 موضع.
61 مثل.
62 الذياب.
63 بالبان.
64 *Mīm* is the first letter of the following word “mā” that the copyist could not complete on the line.
65 From here up to the end of the folio, some of the flexible vowels are in red.
66 The word was scratched out using red ink.
67 *Hamza* and *shadda* in red ink.
68 *Fatḥa* and *sukūn* in red ink.
69 *Hamza* in red ink.
70 Vowels in red ink.
71 *Madda* in red ink.
72 *Shadda* in red ink.
73 *Idem*.

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